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175 487 try they would then traverse was uninhabited, probably for lack of water.

[648] Visits of the Maricopa to the Cocopa were by way of the Gila to the Mohawk Mountains (the limit of friendly Kaveltcadom territory), thence directly across the desert southwestward to avoid the Yuma. It took six or seven days afoot from Sacate to Yuma and two days longer to the Cocopa. This means thirty or more miles a day.

From the Mohawk Mountains the course was southward across a big mountain containing a spring, called kuhwĭ'tc, thence southwestward across a sandy desert. In this desert was a second spring, called xamĭlkwĭθau', "lofty water" (Tinajas Altas?),[69] distant from the first by a day, a night, and the morning of the second day. From there they went westward to another spring, xacâpa'-kwĭn,âko'xâc, "little wells"; thence west to the Cocopa, who lay two days journey downstream from the Yuma.

[648] A visit to the Indians of Sonora, among whom the Halchidhoma were living in 1833, was by way of the desert east of Sacaton. It was always a year before travelers returned to the Gila, although the place was said to lie only three days foot journey southeast of Tucson.

175 582 The Maricopa seem to have been markedly conservative in the matter of marriage with other tribes. For one thing, they objected strenuously to having their girls marry into sibless tribes. After 1839 and the appearance of the mixed community, the Maricopa, Halchidhoma, Kohuana, and Halyikwamai married almost wholly among themselves and with the Kaveltcadom. It seems reasonably clear that marriages with the Pima were wholly or almost wholly confined to the last century: the immediate

[69] Tinajas Altas is almost certain to have been the objective since it was the principal camping place in the region. From Kino's day (*ca.* 1700) on, it was the pivotal point on the route from Caborca in Sonora to the Yuma. Kino was, of course, following an aboriginal line of march. From Tinajas Altas the Maricopa must have used the only practicable route to the Cocopa, that followed by Lumholtz (*New Trails in Mexico*, p. 245, map), westward to Laguna Prieta in the desert, thence southwesterly to the vicinity of Colonia Lerdo. Gifford learned from the Cocopa that their route to the Maricopa brought them first to near the Fortuna mine in the Gila Mountains, that is, somewhat north of the Maricopa route, thence to the Mohawk Mountains and Gila Bend (Cocopa Ms). It is more probable that Tinajas Altas was meant than Fortuna, since Lumholtz records no Papago camp at the latter place.

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Maricopa
Kaveltcadom

Pima ancestors of those credited with Pima blood are remembered. "The Pima were too far from the Maricopa to intermarry with them much: they did not see much of them." They did not marry the Papago to the south. A few Papago living in the mountains nearer the Colorado, however, married with the Kaveltcadom at Gila Bend. Some of the present-day population are descended from a Yavapai woman captive; it is barely possible from more than one.

Contacts with Spaniards and Mexicans before the American occupation of the territory are little remembered. Their settlements were at a considerable distance, at Tucson and southward, and with these there was slight trade. Chiefs may not have existed or been of much importance until they were appointed, or received documents of authority from Spanish and Mexican officials. Two Mexicans are known to have accompanied the Maricopa on a raid against the Yuma before Kutox was born (in 1847).

An incident of uncertain meaning was reported by Kutox. When he was about four years old (1851 or 1852), "the first Spaniard" came and went on to the coast (?). He brought back with him from the Colorado the head chief of the Kamia, named kwĭcĭnyă'tăo'nă. They went "on top" of Pima Butte, calling all the local Indians together, and said they were going to talk to them. The Maricopa and Kohuana crowded around this chief and killed him. The Spaniards and Americans who were there fled the same night. "We were proud of scaring away the Americans." The Americans acquired this territory at that time.

Americans were first seen in the Halchidhoma village when Kutox was three (1850). (They began to come in numbers following the discovery of gold in California in 1849.) Actually individual trappers and parties had been passing throughout the quarter century preceding. One trapper, a friend of the Maricopa, was killed by Yavapai at his home west of the Gila Bend Mountains. The best known was a beaver trapper living nearby, who brought the Mohave to them to make peace in 1863. He was known only as pĕngwĭtcsa', "beaver eater." Kutox gave a circumstantial account of the massacre of the Oatman family when he was about six (1853). The actual date is 1851.[70] He also remembered a body of American soldiery coming through "a year after" the Yuma raid of 1857. This may have been the California column of 1862.[71] Episodes of the Civil War period were remembered: in 1862–63 a white trader at Casa Blanca was captured by Texans, and the soldiers fought near Tucson.

Mexicans and Americans were called xiko'[72] or more literally ipahama'l,

[70] Stratton, *Captivity of the Oatman Girls.*

[71] Russell, *Pima Indians*, p. 47.

[72] A folk-etymology was offered, deriving the word from the cooing of doves which the whites' language was said to resemble. The word occurs in other Yuman tongues: Mohave hiko, hiiko, haiko (Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 770); Southeastern Yavapai hako (Gifford, *Southeastern Yavapai*, p. 182); Havasupai hai'ku. Font (1776) recorded the Yuma form as Jéco (Assende Jéco, "one white man")

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551 614 ply xipa'. The names of two women will illustrate the indirect reference of the remainder; one is named "invisible," referring to the clouds; another, "winding," referring to the wild gourd vines; both clouds and wild gourd being among the xipa' totems. Thirty-one men belong to this sib, but only one has a totemic name.

The sib name thus serves as an auxiliary designation for all the women of a sib. Some women have no other personal name. [601] More specifically it is a common term of address used by a man's relatives for his wife. For example, Mrs. Redbird of kwĭtk,ĭ'l,[A] sib has the personal name nĭk,ĭnk,ĭ'k, "iridescent green" (referring to the totem lizard), but is called kwĭtk,ĭ'l,[A] by her husband's sister. This has its counterpart in the bestowal of a nickname on a husband by his mother-in-law or someone of his wife's [606] family.[36]

614 829 The feeling is marked among these people that all the Yumans have one sib system. That particular sibs of their own are not present in other tribes is a matter of no moment: that, they would say, is due to the fact that what we are here calling sibs are to them single lines of descent, and it is but natural that some lineages are not found in other tribes. What impresses them is that everywhere on the Colorado there are patrilineal lineages, within which the women alone are designated as pertaining to the lineage, and which function exogamously. They are conscious of a system; that details differ is immaterial.

The feeling for the system is very strong. They equate the patrilineal sibs of the Pima, or rather their moieties, with their own sibs, although the basis of Pima organization is different. All the local families derived from Pima paternal ancestors are reckoned in the sibs xipa' and l,eω'c. They object violently even today to 582 allowing their daughters to marry men of sibless tribes; the chil- 614 dren would have no sib affiliation. Naturally, it is quite permissible for men to do so. There are several cases in the present generation of women who have married Indians from California. No 611 614 attempt was made to assign these men to particular sibs, hence

[184] [36] The Yuma situation also differed from that of the Mohave. Yuma sibs had definite names; these served as women's names, but the women also had personal names which referred indirectly to the totems. The Yuma differed from the Maricopa-Halchidhoma in that the sib name regularly substituted for the personal name in later life (Forde, *Yuma Ethnography*, pp. 142–47, 149).

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Maricopa

183 614 blood relatives. In the other two marriages within the local xipa' group, the couples were not related. One of these cases is interesting: a Maricopa xipa' woman married first a Pima classed as xipa' and later a Maricopa xipa'. Breach of the exogamic rule is implied in aboriginal times, for a stereotyped reaction was described which I doubt ever occurred with the modern marriages.

582 588 614 684 A man could not marry any known blood relative of either parent, nor any woman of his own sib. Hence he could marry an unrelated member of his mother's sib. If two related individuals did marry "without their parent's consent," they were regarded as dead. All their relatives would gather at the girl's home and mourn all day. They would set fire to the house, and break up and destroy all their belongings, just as though the girl had died. The man's parents did the same thing. The old people then told the couple they must never part, never remarry. It was held that children born to them would be weaklings.

In recent times the reaction was not so drastic. Sixteen years ago, B. J., a shaman now dead, married a girl of his own sib, xipa', who was in addition a close relative. His mother and this girl called each other by first-cousin terms; the exact relationship is unknown. The wife called him čnw', older sister's or cousin's child. He was an orphan who lived with her parents. People tried to prevent their marriage; they thought it revolting.

In another instance, a man married his paternal grandfather's sister's daughter (hence of another sib). I was told that in the old days this could not have happened. After nearly ten years, the aged grandfather is still unwilling to forgive, although he lives with the couple.

NAMES

553 Babies were given non-significant names, nicknames, by their mothers. It was not until they were several years old that real names were chosen, and these are given casually by anyone, without formality.[44] Boys' names were chosen indiscriminately, but girls were commonly named with reference to their sibs. 551 [614] Thus, xamitu'tc sib had for its principal totem the bean mesquite, hence the girls of this sib were commonly named for parts of the mesquite, and sometimes the boys. One little girl of this sib, e.g., was named by her maternal grandmother's sister,

[44] The Pima naming ceremony with godparents was unknown here (Russell, *Pima Indians*, p. 188).

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unyi', unyi'c, un,iya'.....	son's wife, brother's wife, grandson's wife, father's brother's wife, mother's brother's wife, step-mother
kitca'.....	a man's step-child
ucu'.....	a man's sister's husband, his son's (and daughter's?) daughter's husband, wife's brother, wife's grandparents, a woman's daughter's (and son's?) daughter's husband
Inkwinyahweya'.....	a woman's sister's husband
Inyahwi'.....	wife's sister

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY LIFE

The curious feature of Maricopa marriage is that its apparent informality belied a strictly formulated social configuration that resulted from it. Marriage ritual was lacking except for a purely formal test of housewifery. Despite the rigid control of their choice by the parents of the young couple, the mating seems casual enough. Nevertheless, the movement toward the union once initiated by the young people themselves, their relation to the two families becomes increasingly fixed in a rigid mould.

Marriage possibilities were limited by blood relationship and sib exogamy. A man could not marry any known blood relative of either parent regardless of sib affiliation, nor any woman of his own sib. Hence he could marry an unrelated member of his mother's sib. I was several times informed that he could not marry either parallel or cross-cousins (although his parents' several nieces were not members of his sib except by chance).

My aged informant denied that young men went courting: the most he would admit was that during night dances some would play their flutes at a distance to attract girls. Yet I received strong intimations elsewhere that young people made their own choice. There was at least no open courting, even through the intermediacy of a friend in the Pima manner.[54] While their elders might insist on industry and good temper as sufficient qualifications, young people were also interested in handsome mates. Good looks are not easily defined: I was told at least that one should have long thick hair and that girls as well should be broad in the hips. In a reference to beautiful women (axo'tk, "beauty,"

[54] Cf. Russell, *Pima Indians*, p. 183.

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Maricopa
Yuma

832 i.e., "good") it was explained that fleshy women were meant. [856] Further, cradles for girls were made with the cross bars widely spaced so that the infants would grow to have large buttocks. They had a common saying that a handsome man will never 581 marry a good-looking woman, while an ugly one would always get 832 several wives. They had also the saying that a woman would give her good-looking daughter to a successful deer hunter. On the other hand I was told that one who was lucky at hunting and in games would not be lucky in love.

●582 A girl might marry a few months or half a year after her puberty celebration, but some did not marry for several years.

.584 Theoretically, at least, young men asked permission of their parents to marry. The parents selected the girl: even if their son did not care for her, he nevertheless obeyed them. "That is why some couples did not get along; because the parents did the selecting," Kutox observed.

The youth did not court the girl. Instead, he crept to her bed at night and lay beside it, but he refrained from touching her.[55] (This seems incredible but was convincingly affirmed by several [572] informants.) Occasionally he would take a bosom friend along, point out where the girl lay, and send him off.

[827] This gave rise to a saying: when a man reaches for something and his joints crack, he ejaculates, "No, I am not trying to get married"; because a lad's joints will crack, no matter how quiet he may be when he tries to crawl in beside the girl. It is reported that one man now living said he could never get married because this always happened to him. He said he exercised so his joints would not crack, but they always did.

If the girl woke, she sent her suitor away. She might go over to her parents and lie between them. Then the young man would tell one of them to get up, so that he could lie beside her.[56] Sometimes, if she did not wake, he remained until morning. Then, when her parents found he had been there, they persuaded her to marry him. Even if he came but once, they would force her to marry. It made no difference if she protested her dislike. Her

[184] [55] They were not continent for four nights following marriage like the Yuma (Forde, *Yuma Ethnography*, p. 156).

[56] Again, this seems actually to have happened.

/82 cont./

000 cooking pots of many sizes.

From the Pima they also learned to weave cloth from
291 native cotton. The dress of the women formerly consisted of a
[177] piece of this cloth wound around the body under the arms and reaching to the knees, with an outer shawl for cold weather.
[302] The men wore only the breech-cloth, but painted their bodies elaborately.

The Maricopa, of course, possessed the same wealth of
262 native vegetal and animal foods as the Pima, and employed the same methods of gathering and treating them. The fruit of the giant cactus, found in unlimited quantities, is still one of their important staples. This strange creation of the plant world blooms in early spring and ripens its fruit in June and July. Using a long
[222] pole with a wooden blade at the end, the women cut the fruit from the plant and carry it to the settlements in large baskets. The
[252] fruit is eaten fresh, dried, made into jelly, or preserved. They
273 also make quantities of wine from it, first boiling the fruit, then draining the juice into large jars, which are kept in a heated house for a week to ferment. A number of women, sometimes twenty-
[476] five or more, formerly joined in making wine, and when it was
[574] ready their neighbors were invited to a great feast, which always ended in a debauch. This deplorable custom, along with many of a commendable nature, was derived from the Pima.

The Maricopa are a sedentary, agricultural people. The
241 principal crop of their small irrigated farms is wheat, which they
[252] grind into coarse flour on the metate, or hand mealing stone.
[412]

582 /83/ The little that remains of their former social organization indicates that it was identical with that of the Mohave. Nothing could be learned tending to show that under this system marriage within recognized groups of kindred was prohibited. The union
584 was without ceremony, and formal consent of the parents was not necessary; if they did not send the young man away, it was assumed that they were willing to accept him as a son-in-law.

[764] As among other Yuman tribes, the dead are burned. Within
765 a few days after the cremation of the body of an important man a mourning ceremony, called Nyimich, is observed. Fuel is heaped up to form a pyre, on which are placed pieces of clothing of each of the near relatives of the deceased. The men march around the pyre shouting and crying, followed by the women carrying